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clan affiliation, and succession to office follow the matrilineal line, and marriage is matrilocal with service performed by the bride-groom for his father-in-law as the essential element in the contract, not the transfer of goods. Associated with the marriage rites are girls' initiation ceremonies without any corresponding ritual in the case of boys. All these Bemba—Bisa—Lunda—Lala—Lamba peoples recognize themselves as being closely akin, and many of their clan names are found widely distributed over the whole area. They are sharply distinguished from the tribes on the Nyasaland border of Northern Rhodesia which have been dominated by the invasion of the pastoral, patrilineal Ngoni, who broke off from the main body of the Zulu, trekked north, crossed the Zambesi in 1835, and settled in the country of the matrilineal Cewa, Tumbuka, and Senga. They are also differentiated from those tribes of North-Western Rhodesia which were originally conquered by invading peoples from Bechuanaland (Ruhutse) and later from Basutoland (Kololo) to form the present Barotse kingdom, and from the Ila-speaking peoples in the Kafue valley, who also show strong southern influences, keep cattle, and combine patrilocal marriage and patriarchal authority with matrilineal descent. These Bemba-like peoples must also be reckoned in a different category from the cattle-owning tribes, mostly patrilineal, on the northern border of Bembaland, such as the Lungu, Itabwa, and Mambwe, which resemble more closely Eastern Bantu groups like the Nyamwesi to the north-east of Lake Tanganyika. For all these reasons we are justified in regarding the Bemba, Lunda, Bisa, Lamba, Lala, and even the Kaonde peoples, to take only the most prominent of these Northern Rhodesian tribes, as ethnically akin and possessing many characteristics in common. Of these the Bemba themselves are the largest and most homogeneous group and can be taken as representative.

Mode of Life.

As regards their general mode of living and economic activities the Bemba are, broadly speaking, typical of the Central Bantu, and it

Nyubungu (L. Lietard, 'Etude sommaire sur la tribu des Lualua-Kassi', *Bull. Soc. Royale Belge de géographie*, 1929, pp. 40–3), but none of these tribes can be reckoned as pastoral peoples proper. In fact the exclusion of the Congo tribes from the E. and S. African cattle-complex is used by Herskovits to demarcate them as a separate culture area. 'The Cattle-complex in E. Africa', *American Anthropologist*, n.s., vol. xxviii, 1926, pp. 640–4.

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is important to state at the outset how far any conclusions reached in this book are likely to apply to contiguous areas. Briefly then the Bemba live in small communities, the average village consisting of 30 to 50 huts, while that of the present Citimukulu numbers 150, and in the old days chiefs' villages reached higher figures still.[1] Each village is a kinship unit under the rule of a headman who is appointed by the chief of the district and responsible to him. It changes in composition from time to time, as well as shifting from site to site. The settlements are widely scattered and the density of the population never reaches a greater figure than 3·9 per square mile.[2] This system of local grouping resembles that of the kindred peoples of North-Eastern Rhodesia, but is in marked contrast to that of the Eastern Bantu tribes such as the Ganda, Chagga, &c., who live in isolated homesteads, from the smaller family kraals composed of a man, his wife, and his sons common in South Africa, or the larger Bantu settlements numbering as many as 10,000 inhabitants found, for instance, in Bechuanaland.

The Bemba have already been described as an agricultural people, though, like most of the Bantu, they are fond of hunting and fishing and rely on the bush for many of the wild plants and fruits used for food.[3] Their chiefs used formerly to capture cattle from the surrounding tribes, and kept these sporadically, but the Bemba lack entirely the pastoral tradition. Only a third of the Province is free from fly, and to-day neither chiefs nor commoners own more than a few goats or sheep, and occasional cattle in urban areas.[4] The people are shifting cultivators, that is to say, they clear

[1] Here as in other parts of Africa the establishment of European rule and the prevention of war has led to a far greater dispersion of the people than was possible in the old days when they tended to group themselves under the protection of their chiefs in large stockaded villages. At the present day the Bemba villages divide and subdivide as often as possible within the limits of the Government minimum of ten adult males. [2] 1·86 in the Mpika area.

[3] Herskovits considers that the predominance of hunting, associated with special guilds of hunters, and a well-marked type of ritual are characteristic of the Congo peoples, and this ritual, according to Maes, becomes more complex farther and farther west from L. Leopold. Herskovits, cf. footnote, p. 17; Maes, 'Notes sur les populations des bassins du Kasai', &c., *Mus. Congo Belge*, 1924, vol. i, pp. 74–82. In N. Rhodesia, the Ila and the Lunda of the N.W. province have hunters' guilds and the latter give hunters a special burial. Smith and Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of N. Rhodesia*, 1920, vol. i, p. 168; F. H. Melland, *In Witchbound Africa*, 1923, p. 267. The Bemba had formerly specialist elephant hunters, and now carry out ritual hunts, but it is not an important economic activity in this area, cf. Chap. XVI.

[4] There are 354 head of cattle in the Kasama area now, but these are chiefly

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a fresh strip of the bush each year to make their gardens, and when the forest land round their villages has all been used (four or five years) they move to a fresh site a few miles away, build themselves new huts, and start cultivating again. This general type of agriculture is practised over most of Northern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, large parts of Nyasaland, Tanganyika, and the less highly developed areas of Uganda and Kenya, everywhere giving place to fixed cultivation of an elementary type with the introduction of European cash crops, shortage of land, or urban development. But a recent intensive study of native agricultural methods in one area—North-Western Rhodesia—shows that the term 'shifting cultivator' can cover the greatest variety of methods of utilizing bush land.[1] The Bemba cultivate by clearing the undergrowth, pollarding the trees over a strip of bush, and burning the branches and brushwood so obtained on a small space in the centre of the cleared patch to make an ash-fertilized bed on which the seeds are sown broadcast without further hoeing. In subsequent years the gardens are dug up into mounds on which other crops are grown. This method, known from the earliest days of the British occupation as the *citemene* system after the native name for a cut garden, is practised all over this part of North-Eastern Rhodesia, and by some of the Lamba-Kaonde and Lunda-Luba peoples on the northern plateau of North-Western Rhodesia. It is reckoned as one of the most primitive forms of bush cultivation, everywhere associated with poor soil. As we shall see, the Bemba show great ingenuity in the alternation of crops and the use of the fertile soil of old village sites, yet as a whole their cultivation is much less complex than that of a number of the neighbouring tribes. They do not hoe their ash-beds before sowing as is practised by the Ila-Tonga group, use green manuring as do the Mambwe, or cultivate mixed crops in a series of specialized gardens and grassland fields as do some of the Sikololo-speaking peoples.[2] In fact, from an agricultural point of view they are reckoned as among the more backward of the Northern Rhodesian tribes.

kept by members of other tribes or Bemba who have learnt cattle-keeping in other territories. They are kept in this area since the sale of milk to Europeans is profitable.

[1] *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of N.W. Rhodesia*, Report of the Ecological Survey by C. G. Trapnell & J. N. Clothier, 1937. (Subsequently referred to as Report of the Ecological Survey.)

[2] Ibid. *Vide* also Unwin Moffat, *Native Agriculture in the Abercorn District*, Bulletin, Dept. of Agriculture, N. Rhodesia, 1933.

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The aboriginal crops in this part of the country seem to be finger millet, Kaffir corn, bulrush millet, Kaffir beans, Livingstone potatoes, and numerous cucurbits—pumpkins, edible gourds, cucumbers, melons, &c. Ground-nuts, maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and yams, all grown widely in Central Africa, are of New World origin, apparently introduced by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century. Bemba tradition confirms this classification. They declare that their first ancestor, Citi Muluba, travelled from the Luba country carrying in his hair the seeds of Kaffir corn, finger millet, Kaffir beans, cow peas, pumpkins, and the small wrinkled cucumbers known as *amankolobwe*. Their most important economic rites centre round the cultivation of Kaffir corn, now less often grown, quick-growing finger millet, cow pea, Livingstone potato, pumpkin, maize, and *amankolobwe*, and the ritual associated with any particular crop has often been reckoned as an index of its age.[1] Bemba maintain that they have grown maize and ground-nuts 'for a long time', that sweet potatoes were introduced by Swahili traders in the reign of a chief who lived at the end of the nineteenth century, while the Bisa, the neighbouring tribe to the west, taught them how to grow cassava.

Of all these crops their staple is the finger millet, a coarse tufted grass about 3 feet high bearing fine grain of the size of bird-seed on five or six radiating finger-like spikes.[2] This is a hardy plant specially suited to poor soils, but its distribution in Central Africa seems to show that Kaffir corn is grown in preference wherever the soil makes this possible, and that it has been ousted from its position as a staple crop by cassava and maize in all the more fertile environments. In North-Western Rhodesia, the only area in which native agricultural methods have been surveyed, the Lamba-Kaonde live on Kaffir corn and have relegated finger millet to a subsidiary position; among the Lunda-Luba in the same province cassava has taken its place as the staple crop.[3]

In the Bangweolu swamps cassava is the staple food, and on the Nyasaland border, the Cewa, Tumbuka, and others live chiefly on maize. Cassava is now the chief food cultivated in the Belgian Congo and only a few tribes such as the Yeke and

[1] Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, 1927, vol. i, p. 395.

[2] *Eleusine coracana*. This is the *mafhoko* of the High veld tribes of the N. Transvaal and the *popoko* of the High veld Mashona. In both latter cases it is grown for beer only.

[3] Report of the Ecological Survey, p. 25.

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Bunda apparently still live on finger millet.[1] Maize is the staple crop of most of the Southern Rhodesian tribes. In many other parts of Africa the finger millet is now cultivated entirely for the purpose of brewing beer, for which it seems specially suited, and is grown in this way in Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, the Congo, Uganda, and Kenya. Thus in their almost entire reliance on finger millet the Bemba are now in rather an unusual position as regards the composition of their diet. They grow less Kaffir corn than before because of the lack of suitable soil and the labour to protect it from birds. It is sometimes described as a chief's crop on the latter account. Maize gives a poor yield in this district, and sweet potatoes and cassava have only been grown widely during the recent locust raids in response to direct Government pressure.

Material Culture and Economic Organization.

The material equipment of the Bemba is of the simplest. It consists of four implements, (*a*) a wedge-shaped axe blade (*isembe*, plur. *amasembe*) forged locally, fixed into a wooden haft, and used to clear the bush, to cut poles for fencing, hut-building, and simple furniture such as beds or storing racks, to hollow out tree-trunks for canoes, to fashion logs into drums, stools or mortars, or to hammer out bark-cloth; (*b*) a hoe (*ulukasu*, plur. *amakasu*), the only instrument used exclusively for cultivation, formerly traded from the Lungu and other more skilled iron-workers to the west and now bought at European stores; (*c*) a spear (*ifumo*, plur. *amafumo*) forged locally and used for war, hunting, fishing, and protection against wild beasts; (*d*) a bow (*ubuta*, plur. *amata*) formerly used in war and hunting and important as a family heirloom, but rarely made nowadays.[2] All these implements are of the simplest kind, neither carved nor ornamented, and all arts and crafts are extremely poorly developed in this district compared to the contiguous areas. Iron-work, which reached such

[1] e.g. among the Kongo (J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, 1914, p. 86), the Shongo, Songomeno, Nkutsu (Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, 1925, pp. 131, 122), the tribes of the Kasai and L. Leopold (J. Maes, op. cit., vol. i, p. 6), the Ngala (Van Overbergh, *Les Basonge*, 1908, p. 197), the Luba (Verhulpen, op. cit., pp. 200, 307) and Torday and Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques*, p. 316).

[2] Small wedge-shaped razors, reaping knives, and flat 8-inch needles for threading mats form additional implements.

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a high perfection among peoples like the Shongo, Kuba, and Luba, and is practised to a greater or less degree among the Kaonde, hardly exists among the Bemba. Wood-carving, the great art of the Congo tribes, is limited among the Bemba to the adornment of the simplest and most utilitarian objects such as stools and drums. Bark-cloth was made formerly, but it has now been practically ousted by European cloth. Weaving as practised by the Shongo, Songe, Kuba, Luba, Pende, and other kindred tribes is unknown; and though baskets and mats are made, they are of the simplest possible design, and the Bemba are prepared to buy a better type of basket made by the Nsenga rather than attempt to learn the art themselves. Cooking- and eating-pots are made all over the plateau.

The economic organization of the Bemba is not a complex one. The strongest ambition of the old Bemba chiefs seems to have been the conquest of territory and the exaction of tribute from the surrounding tribes rather than the accumulation of material goods. Wealth among the Southern Bantu consisted in herds of cattle, which marked a man's status, enabled him to marry, to pay his fines, to make offerings to his chief or ancestral spirits, and to carry out all his kinship obligations, but the Bemba had few material possessions that could be accumulated as capital or used as any form of currency. Ivory tusks were the monopoly of the chiefs of each district and used for display, or traded for Arab goods, such as bales of cloth or guns, with which faithful warriors and subjects were rewarded. Beyond this the wealth of a Bemba chief consisted in the amount of service he could command as agricultural labour or military force, and the number of slaves, whether of his own tribe or conquered peoples, he possessed. Marriage contracts and most other kinship obligations were fulfilled by the giving of service, not goods, and enslavement was often enforced in lieu of a fine. No organized system of barter or exchange existed. Salt and hoes seem occasionally to have been traded, but regular markets which are a prominent feature of tribal life among the Eastern Bantu, and in such Congo tribes as the Shongo and Kongo, were quite unknown among the Bemba. We are dealing with a warrior people in which the whole economic system was dominated by the political relationship of subject and chief, and the organization of labour founded on it.

As regards its present economic position Bembaland must be regarded as a labour reserve. No economic crop has been found

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for this people owing to the poverty of the soil and the prohibitive cost of transport either to Abercorn, at the base of Lake Tanganyika, or to Broken Hill, the nearest station on the railway line.[1] For the same reasons white settlement practically does not exist, except in the region round Abercorn. Thus wage-earning possibilities are scanty for the natives of this area,[2] and to pay their Government tax, now 7*s.* 6*d.* a year, and to purchase the European goods to which they have become accustomed, large numbers of the adult men of the tribe—from 40 to 60 per cent.—are obliged to leave the territory annually to look for work, mostly in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia, but also in the Katanga mines, Southern Rhodesia, and even South Africa. It is rare to find a man who has never left his country to work abroad, and the majority migrate to and fro between the mines and the villages and only finally settle in their home districts in their old age. Thus in this respect many of the food problems of the Bemba are typical of those that exist in all such manless areas in Africa, whether in Rhodesia, Nyasaland, or the Protectorates. That is to say, we shall have to describe an agricultural system in which most of the old incentives to work have disappeared, the male labour force is nearly halved, and the system of economic co-operation broken down.

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Social Structure.

It is impossible to describe in detail the tribal structure of the Bemba, either as a preface to this special study, or from a comparative point of view. There are, however, certain main principles of their social organization which are absolutely fundamental to an understanding of all their organized activities and forms of co-operation, and give the direction to their interests. Of these the dominant institution of the Bemba is their highly complex political system and the particularly autocratic character of the chieftainship on which it is based. Allegiance to a common Paramount—the Citimukulu—is the main tie uniting the members of a tribe that is scattered very thinly over a wide area. It determines their local grouping, and is the basis of the traditional pride of this warrior people and its distinction from neighbouring tribes.

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[1] 3½*d.* per lb. from Kasama to the rail-head at Broken Hill.

[2] It was estimated in the Kasama district in 1934 that about 30 per cent. of the adult males could have earned their tax locally. (Provincial Commissioner's Report.)

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105 643 On a man's relationship to his chief depends his residence, his use of land, the economic group he works with, the way in which his food is distributed, the religious and magic beliefs that sustain him in his work, and his social ambitions. Thus without understanding the political organization of the Bemba it is impossible to describe their system of food production.

105 622 643 Briefly, then, this political system consists of a Paramount chief, the Citimukulu, a hereditary ruler with a fixed title, drawn from the royal clan—the *Benangandu* or 'Crocodile' people—who traces his descent in the matrilineal line for more than twenty-five holders of the office. The Citimukulu rules over his own district, the centre of the Bemba country—Lubemba—but also acts as overlord to a number of territorial chiefs, who govern districts similar in size, succeed to fixed titles, and are drawn from the same clan, and in fact the same lineage group, as the Paramount himself.[1] Each of these territorial chiefs has one or two sub-chiefs under him, these again being drawn from the royal clan, but in some cases from more distant branches of the family which have become localized in one particular area.[2] Sisters and maternal nieces of the chiefs are reckoned as chieftainesses, *Banamfumu*. They succeed to titles, and rule over villages, while the chief's mother, the Candamukulu, has a small territory of her own, and plays an important part in tribal councils. Beneath the chiefs [62] come the heads of villages (*mwine mushi*, plur. *bene mushi*) appointed by them. A particular feature of this political system is [644] the hierarchy of the 40–50 officials, *Bahabilo*, many of them also of royal descent, who succeed to fixed titles, and perform ritual duties at the court, take charge of the chief's complex mortuary and accession ceremonies, and act as a council for the whole tribe.[3] Besides these hereditary priests and councillors attached to the Paramount's court, though not resident at it, each chief and sub-chief has his own councillors (*bafilolo*), with legal and executive functions, living at his court and appointed by him, and in the

[1] The most important of such territorial chiefs are the Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, and Nkula, and at the moment the first two are own brothers to the Citimukulu, and the last a first cousin.

[2] e.g. Mwaba is a sub-chief of Nkula, but this title has become associated with another branch of the Crocodile clan.

[3] Autocratic chieftainships, associated with hierarchies of hereditary court officials, are found among the contiguous tribes in the Congo, e.g. Luba (Verhulpen, op. cit., pp. 55, 186), Shongo (Torday, *Causeries congolaises*, 1925, p. 55), Kongo (J. H. Weeks, op. cit., p. 37).

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old days had captains of his army, executioners, and other court dignitaries as well. The complexity of this political organization form an interesting contrast to the simplicity of the people's economic system. Such a centralized form of government is not found among the surrounding tribes.

The power of the chief rests ultimately on his people's belief in his supernatural powers over the prosperity of the land and the welfare of his individual subjects. By his inheritance of the guardian spirits (*umupashi*, plur. *imipashi*) of the line of dead chiefs, and his possession of the sacred relics (*babenye*) of the tribe, he has power of approach to the tribal deities and he is responsible for the economic rites on which the food-production of these people is thought to depend.

Besides their supernatural powers the chiefs formerly based their apparently unchallenged authority on the physical force they could exert. They controlled and armed their warriors, and had power of life or death over their subjects, whom they could kill, enslave, or sell, and in the case of women, bestow in marriage. Their legal system gave them the right to mutilate those who offended them, and it put them in supreme charge of the poison (*mwafi*) ordeal. The land theoretically belonged to them, and they exacted tribute in labour and kind from those who cultivated it, and maintained monopolies over ivory and salt. No Bemba could reach a high social status or obtain economic privileges unless related to the royal family or a personal favourite with them. Thus it is impossible to study land tenure, leadership in economic enterprises, incentives to agricultural labour, the distribution of land and goods, or exchange, without bearing the political system of this tribe in mind. Linton has recently used the word 'Orientation' to describe for comparative purposes the chief focus of the interests and social institutions of any particular people under review. In this sense military ambition under an autocratic chieftainship is the orientation of the Bemba tribe.[1]

It is obvious that chiefs of this type who relied on the use of military force, tribute labour, and slavery for their supremacy, but did not accumulate material possessions or possess any valuable economic resources in their territory, are in a particularly poor position at the present day. The Bemba chief receives a small subsidy from the Government—£60 a year in the case of the

[1] Cf. R. Linton, *The Study of Man*, 1936.

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105 643 622 Paramount chief and less for the territorial chiefs—and therefore earns annually about the same amount as a clerk. Rich African rulers such as the Nigerian emirs, the Barotse king, or some of the South-African potentates, do not exist in this area, and hence one of the important practical problems to discuss is the effect of this poverty of the Bemba chiefs on an economic system which is as closely linked with the political organization as is theirs.

White Contact.

177 Permanent contact between Bemba and Europeans dates from 1890, when the White Fathers built a station at Kayambi on their north-eastern border and entered the country two years later. The British South Africa Co. established a post at Abercorn in 1893 and at Mirongo, near the present Government station at Chinsali, in 1896. These stations were built to put an end to slave raids in this area, but two years later (1898) the Administration intervened in a disputed succession to an important chieftainship and established themselves at Kasama, now the Provincial head-quarters, in the centre of the Bemba country, while the White Fathers, who entered the district more or less simultaneously, built their big station at Chilubula, twelve miles off, now the chief centre of the Diocese. There are at present Government stations at Kasama, Chinsali, Mpika (the site of a large aerodrome), Mporokoso, and Luwingu—to mention only those in the Bemba country proper. Most of these stations consist of a couple of houses built for the Government officials, an office, and a store, but Kasama is a bigger centre and has a white population of 54. Catholic influence is predominant in the heart of the Bemba country and the White Fathers have now built over ten stations in the tribal territory, mostly distributed in key situations near the villages of big chiefs. They also have a teachers' training school at Rosa to the north-east of Kasama. The Church of Scotland Mission has a big teachers' training-school at Lubwa to the south-east of the district, and stations near the borders of the Bemba country at Mwenzo and Chitambo. The London Missionary Society also has seven mission centres in or near Bemba territory including Senga, Mporokoso and Mbereshi. There is one Government School at Kasama. There is only one big European plantation, Shiwa Dandu, to the south-west of

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PART I

The Cultural Setting

☆

ENVIRONMENT AND ACTIVITIES

●105 The Bemba were the dominant tribe on the North-eastern plateau of Northern Rhodesia. They have a centralized government with a paramount chief, the Citimukulu, whose empire formerly consisted of the territory between the four lakes, Bangweulu, Mweru, Tanganyika and Nyasa. The Citimukulus were the most powerful monarchs in this part of Central Africa and at one time they were able to exact tribute from as far north as Tabora in Tanganyika. The Bemba are still proud of their former position as a ruling tribe and feel that their traditions should be kept alive. Women as well as men are conscious of their superiority over the surrounding peoples.

The Bemba are a small tribe. At the time when these observations were made they numbered about 150,000. But they live widely dispersed over the plateau at a density of some 3·67 per square mile, in villages of 30–50 huts built at anything from five to twenty miles apart. Their territory is therefore larger than their numbers might suggest. The Bemba practise shifting cultivation of the slash-and-burn type. Their staple food is finger millet but they grow sorghum, maize, beans, peas and cucurbits. The growing of cassava is a modern introduction which does not feature, as does the cultivation of the other staple foods, in the chisungu rites.

The women are responsible for most of the food supply. To make a garden the men lop branches from the trees and the women pile them in the centre of a cleared patch so that they may be burned to form an ash bed on which the seeds are sown. The

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●105 dragging together of the branches is heavy work of which the women seem proud. It is their task also to select the seeds and sow them. They reap the main millet crop and dig and sow the garden mounds round the villages on which vegetables are sown.

The land of the Bemba is well watered but its soil is poor and it has a low yield per acre. There is an annual shortage of food which approaches famine in the worst years. This food shortage is probably greater now than it was formerly, owing to the constant emigration of able-bodied men looking for work in the mines. Yet hungry months seem to have been a feature in pre-European days, to judge from folk tales and the stories old men tell. For this reason, perhaps, great emphasis is placed on a woman's importance in controlling and husbanding the food supplies. Many forms of Bemba ritual centre round the production of food. There are, for instance, rites for sowing and reaping, first fruits ceremonies and prayers which precede the slashing of the trees before clearing new garden sites.

The Bemba live on high plateau land standing at a height of four to five thousand feet and this is covered with bush, scrub and low trees. It is typical savannah forest with few breaks in the vegetation except for the clearings formed by small river beds. The Bemba can be described as typical forest people. They depend on trees for the fertility of their millet gardens since they believe they can only sow their staple crop in the ash beds formed of burnt branches lopped off high trees. Bemba men are great hunters, and though game is not now plentiful, hunting, a forest pursuit, is considered the most pleasurable and exciting of activities. One of the most important forms of ordeal they perform is divination by hunting.

The bush also provides much of the people's food in the form of wild vegetables, mushrooms, honey and caterpillars. A Bemba woman must study and know the resources of the bush round her village since without such knowledge she and her family could not survive during the hungry months. A Bemba girl of about ten or eleven is able to distinguish carefully among the thirty or forty different kinds of mushrooms used and can tell which are edible and which are poisonous. Wood is also used for housing, the making of furniture and cooking utensils and for fire wood. The

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trees of the bush are believed to have magic properties as well as economic uses and even the most casual collection of 'medicines' will reveal as many as forty to fifty different trees with well-known magic properties. 105

The Bemba divide their world into village (*mushi*) and bush (*mpanga*). The village represents the civilized, orderly way of life and the bush a more mysterious, dangerous environment which must be cajoled to yield its resources for man's benefit. Spirits move about in the bush and trees can be used for their magic properties. As in other Bantu languages, the word for tree (*muti*) is also the word for 'medicine'. This distinction between the forest and the village, between the untamed and uncultivated sphere of life and the domestic and cultivated is constantly reflected in the chisungu and other rites.

There is little specialization in Bemba economy. Crafts are ill-developed. Men make clothing, baskets, mats, furniture, drums and other woodwork while pottery is the only craft in women's hands. As will be seen, the making of pottery images is an important part of the chisungu ceremony.

The Bemba had no form of storable wealth until the arrival of the Europeans. Houses were, and are, impermanent structures and subject to the ravages of white ants. They are constantly rebuilt and whole villages are moved every four or five years. Land is only cultivated for from four to eight years before it is returned to the bush, and garden sites are, therefore, not inherited. Cattle, the most common form of wealth accumulated by East African peoples, cannot be kept since the tsetse fly infests most of the area. Indeed a man had little to leave to his heir except his hereditary bow. The wealth of the Bemba consisted of the right to demand services from kinsmen and protégés and formerly from slaves, rather than of the accumulation of goods. The storing of food and its distribution to her household was one of the woman's most responsible obligations, since on its success depended the building up of a large family unit and ultimately a village. There was, however, little surplus food to be traded. Barter was ill-developed and markets non-existent. A certain amount of food was distributed from village to village in fulfilment of kinship obligations.

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FQ5 Bemba FQ5

105 No cash crop had been introduced in the area at the time I studied it. In order to get a cash income Bemba men left the territory to look for work in the mining areas to the south. Between 40 and 60 per cent of males were absent from the area in 1931. Although this phenomenon probably only dates from the nineteen twenties it has already had such marked effects on the marriage system of the Bemba that it is reflected in the chisungu rite.

The environment of the Bemba is also responsible for those health conditions which are the source of many of their anxieties. Malaria is endemic and the figures for pulmonary disease were very high during my visit. The mortality of children of under three years of age was very severe. This was thought by medical experts to be due to the fact that children had no milk at all after they were weaned, usually between their second and third year; also to infections resulting in dysentery. Death in childbirth was not uncommon. Girls seemed to bear their first child immediately after puberty, at about 15 or 16 years. They received little skilled care either before or after childbirth, and the wide dispersal of the villages made it difficult for the Government to provide European medical facilities. The traditional processes of delivery were exhausting in the extreme to the mother and it was almost impossible for a Bemba midwife to secure conditions that her European counterpart would consider clean.

Bemba women seemed to accept the period of food shortage to which they had become accustomed but they were obsessed with the risks that their children ran and their magic was very largely concerned with rites designed to save their babies' health. The chisungu ceremony is a case in point.

IDEOLOGY AND DOGMA

769 The Bemba attribute their blessings and misfortunes to super-
775 natural agencies, which are set in motion either by persons, dead
789 or living, or by impersonal magic forces, good or evil. They do not believe in the dogma of chance.[1]

769 (*a*) The Personal beings include: (i) *the spirits of ancestors*
775

[1] I owe this term to Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, 1945.

101 considered here but will be discussed in a forthcoming section concerned
131 with the peoples of the eastern shore of southern Lake Tanganyika and adjacent regions.

In brief, the Bemba-Lala-Lamba-Kaonde groups, with their closely related sub-groups, occupy almost the whole of North-eastern Rhodesia and the northern parts of North-western Rhodesia, besides adjacent areas of the Belgian Congo.

132 With the exception of the swamp-dwelling groups, the Unga and the Twa,
133 all live under broadly similar conditions. Plentiful rainfall waters the generally unproductive plateau soils covered by deciduous woodland. The
161 density of population which such land can carry is small, reaching only to about 12 persons per square mile, and this figure is not exceeded, or even approached, except in reserves where local over-population of a serious nature occurs, and in the swamp areas where inundation creates a land shortage either permanent or seasonal. The total population of the selected groups can be reckoned to be about 440,000.

GENERAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

197 The languages of these peoples are closely similar, so much so that the whole group of peoples in this area has been loosely termed "Bemba-speaking".(1) Guthrie, however, distinguishes within one of his linguistic zones *Bemba* with *Aushi* as a sub-dialect; *Tabwa* with *Shila* as a sub-dialect; and a further group of closely related languages, *Bisa, Lamba, Lala, Swaka,* and *Sewa.*(2) He places *Kaonde* in a different linguistic zone, L, because it has certain distinct features, such as a single prefix in independent nominals, which make it more closely related to the Luba group of languages. No mention is made of the languages spoken by other small groups closely related to the Bemba, such as Chishinga, Mukulu, Ngumbu, Kawendi, and Bwile. What little is known about the languages spoken by the Unga and Twa suggests that they may be closely related to Bisa.

174 There is apparently little linguistic evidence to support the tradi-
173 tion held by all these peoples that they originated in areas west of the Luapula from peoples of Luba stock, although Richards says that Bemba told her that archaic words they used in ceremonies at their Paramount's court were "Ciluba".

105 These people practise shifting cultivation with finger millet as the staple crop in the east and cassava in the west. The absence of cattle in the area distinguishes them from the Mambwe to the north and some of the Ngoni to the east. The greater part of the area lies within the tsetse belt, but Lambo mentions that cattle were used as marriage payments among the Lala, and a few goats and sheep are kept by the Bemba and probably by other tribes. Hunting was highly developed in the west of the area before the arrival of Europeans and hunting guilds and associations are recorded.

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, p.16, and Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Guthrie, 1948. A zone is both a geographical and a linguistic concept in that the languages within it have both linguistic affinities and geographical propinquity.

105

Marketing and organised trade were non-existent before the British occupation except in the Bangweulu swamps where fish and other commodities were continuously bartered. Arabs traded guns for slaves and ivory in the 19th century.

The material equipment of these peoples is of the simplest. Bark cloth was the only form of clothing before the appearance of Europeans, but it was not elaborately patterned or ornamented. Wood-carving can hardly be said to exist in the eastern part of the area and even in the west fails to reach anything like the artistic heights found amongst the peoples of the Congo. Iron was smelted and is still forged into spears or axe-heads with primitive bellows. Pottery made by the coil method is made everywhere but only the simplest designs are found. The common type of hut is the round wattle and daub house with a roof with over-hanging eaves and a verandah. Rectangular huts are more common in the west and are being introduced in the east in imitation of the European house.

All groups are matrilineal. Clans are totemic (in so far as they have totem names), exogamous and dispersed. A form of joking relationship, reciprocal burial rites between clans whose totem names are either complementary or antipathetic, and reciprocal hospitality in varying degrees are characteristic. Loosely organised matrilineages of some 3 to 4 generations' depth are found in most groups for which there is information but there is no evidence of larger corporate, segmented lineages.

Marriage is matrilocal, at the outset at least. The transfer of goods, so significant a feature of the marriage contract in other areas, has here only a token character. The important element in the contract here is the service undertaken by the husband for the parents-in-law over a period of years.

Formal age sets or regiments as found in East Africa do not occur and secret societies as found in the Congo occurred only in the swamp area and are now either extinct or vestigial.

The village, generally of some 30-50 huts, is the basic political unit and is administered by a headman to whom the majority of villagers are related. It tends, however, to be an impermanent unit, consequent especially on features of the system of shifting cultivation.

The political structure of the wider groups varies considerably. The Bemba have a centralized form of government, a single paramount chief with secular and ritual functions, a royal dynasty and chiefs with fixed titles. The Lala and Kaonde, in contrast, were, at the time of contact with Europeans, composed of small autonomous chiefdoms, owing no allegiance to an external authority and without any centralized form of government.

Ancestor worship is the core of religious observance in the area. While all groups recognise a high-god, *Lesa*, with one exception(1) he is not worshipped.

(1) See pp.28-9 below.

105 Girls' initiation (*cisungu*) is general but with varying elaboration of ritual and social significance. In some groups it is a nubility, in others a puberty rite, or both. Among the Kaonde it antedates puberty by a couple of years but is subsequent to marriage.

The unevenness of the treatment in this account is largely a reflection of the limitations of the available material. The detail provided by the Ecological Survey has made it possible to give a fuller picture of the agriculture of the area, but material on social organisation is very scanty for some groups. The Bemba, who are singularly well documented, are given fuller treatment than would be justified were the documentation on the other groups more complete.

At the present time the area has the character of a labour reserve and there is a high annual migration rate of adult males to the belt of copper-mines that runs from Broken Hill to Elisabethville.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

554 565 royal princesses are also entitled to honour, as well as those of wives of chiefs and even consorts of princesses. It will be seen, therefore, that the royal rank is a very large one. Any one who can possibly claim connexion of any sort with any chief, dead or living, does so, although the perquisites of rank are in most cases honour only and the possible favours of the chief, rather than any material assets. Every one outside the royal clan, or *ulupwa*, is an *umupabi*, or 'ordinary person', and in old days there was a slave class below—men and women captured in battle or enslaved to their own people for some crime. These individuals were known [578 567] as *bashya*. The term is now used as an opprobrious epithet especially for foreigners—often assumed to have been enslaved by the Bemba formerly. Slavery itself no longer exists.

561 (4) *Other Principles of Social Grouping*. Age is not a principle of social grouping among the Bemba. Precedence is reckoned on the basis of seniority, as in most Bantu societies, and there are special terms used to describe the different stages of life, suckling, infant, child, adolescent, unmarried, married, old, &c. But there [881] are no regiments based on age, as in South and parts of East Africa, and the boys initiation ceremonies so often found associated with such institutions do not exist among this group of the Central Bantu.

571 There are no occupational groups, with the exception of certain specialist fishing communities on the banks of the big rivers, and in the old days there were specialist hunters of big game. Secret societies, such as the *ubutwa*, which is common among neighbouring tribes over the Congo border, and has been adopted by the Bisa of the swamps, do not seem to have been introduced among the Bemba.

● 105 To conclude, Bemba society is as yet undifferentiated to any large extent. The tribe is an outgrowth of a lineage-group which has occupied its present territory for 200 to 300 years, and has remained more or less homogeneous. The original kinship structure is still apparent. All the social groups to which a man belongs are ultimately based on kinship—whether it is his household village or descent group, and there are no other forms of association such as age-sets to cut across this original grouping by descent. Rank consists of membership of the clan of the first immigrants to enter the land.

(*c*) *Economic Background*. The Bemba are an agricultural people

105

Identification

The Aushi (Avausi, Bahushi, Bahusi, Baousi, Baoussi, Baushi, Bausi, Umwausi, Ushi, Vouaousi, Waushi, Wausi, Wauzhi) are a Bantu tribe of the Bemba group, originally probably a very early offshoot of the Lunda nation. They resemble the Bemba in culture, and their language is reported by Guthrie to be merely a sub-dialect of Bemba. Included with them are the following:

Chisinga (Wenachishinga). 28,000 in 1914
Kawendi (Kabende, Wenakanbudi), 3,000 in 1914
Mukulu
Ngumbu (Wenangumbu), 9,400 in 1914
The Aushi proper numbered 28,000 in 1914.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with brand-tillage. The staple is manioc; other crops include finger millet, groundnuts, Kaffir corn (sorghum) -- all of them fairly important -- and beans and maize of lesser consequence. There are no cattle, and other domestic animals are inferentially not common. Hunting and fishing occur, the last being quite important for the Mukulu.

Marriage

Inferentially a token bride-price and postmarital bride-service. According to a general statement for the Bemba group, there is general polygyny, but the polygynous family does not constitute a residential unit.

Family

Inferentially the nuclear family is the normal residence group and the matrilocal extended family a cooperative group.

Residence

The matrilocal rule prevails, at least initially. Ultimately a man probably removes with his family to the village of his MoBr, as among the Bemba.

1: Murdock--2 E-4 (No date) 1958 F1 Africa
Bemba FQ5
Aushi

105

Settlement Pattern

There are semi-permanent villages, presumably concentrated.

Community Organization

The avunculocal clan-community may well be the approximate norm, as among neighboring tribes.

Local Government

There are local headmen. Succession to all offices is matrilineal.

State

There are paramount chiefs over districts, but apparently no single tribal chief.

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105

Identification

The Bemba (Awemba, Ayemba, Babemba, Muemba, Wabemba, Wawemba, Wemba) are a Bantu tribe numbering about 150,000 in 1951. They are ultimately an offshoot of the great Luba nation. The ancestors of the Bemba came from the Congo in the late 17th or early 18th century, pushing back the earlier Bisa arrivals and driving a wedge into Lungu, Tabwa, and Mambwe country. The British arrived in 1899. The Bemba are akin to the Bisa, Lala, Kaonde, Lamba, and Luapula, sharply distinct from the Tumbuka and Chewa, and from the Lungu and Tabwa.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with brand-tillage and simple crop rotation. The staple crop is finger millet (Eleusine coracana), followed by sorghum and manioc. Lesser crops include millet (Pennisetum typhoideum), maize, haricot beans (Phaseolus sp.), cow peas, earth peas, squash, rice (introduced by the Arabs), yams, peanuts, peas (pisum sativum), peppers, coleus, pumpkins, manioc, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, gourds, watermelons, and tobacco. Animal husbandry is insignificant. Because of the tsetse fly there are no cattle except when such are obtained on raids. Dogs, chickens, and pigeons are kept, but goats and sheep are few. There is some gathering, e.g., of honey, but the oil palm does not occur. Hunting is popular but unimportant, but fishing is of considerable significance near rivers. There is no organized trade, and no markets.

Sex Division of Labor

Men clear land and hunt, and do most of the fishing [women catch small fry]. Both sexes plant and hoe. Women harvest and do most of the gathering, but men gather honey.

Property

Land belongs in theory to district chiefs, but any subject of a chief is free to clear new land with his permission. He acquires usufruct rights [there is no sale of land] which are heritable and endure after use ceases until it is clear that the plot will not be reoccupied.

105

Inheritance is matrilineal -- by ElIr, then ElSiSo -- but is unimportant, since a man leaves only his hereditary bow and a house and garden that will soon revert to bush. What is important is "positional succession." Every person of importance is succeeded in whatever position he or she may have achieved in life by one heir [matrilineal], who acquires his guardian spirit, his bow [a woman's girdle], his name, his status, and his kinship term.

Social Stratification

Richards mentions chiefs, nobles, and commoners. War captives and condemned criminals were formerly enslaved. Slave status was hereditary (Delhaise, Gouldsbury & Sheane), non-hereditary (Richards).

Marriage

Girls marry at 13-14 years of age. Marriage involves a small betrothal gift and a token bride-price [usually 2 barkcloths or a hoe], and 4-5 years of postmarital bride-service [except for secondary marriages].

Polygyny is general -- 40% of all marriages according to one census. The sororal form is perferential; a man, after full acceptance by his wife's parents, may ask for WiYoSi as a secondary spouse. Co-wives occupy separate huts; if they are not sisters, these may be in different parts of the village. The levirate, sororate, and secondary unions with WiBrDa are also preferential.

Family

Matrilocal extended families are cooperating but not residential units. Polygynous family households are normal for chiefs, but otherwise occur usually only where co-wives are sisters.

Residence

Initial residence is matrilocal until 2-3 children are born and Hu gains confidence of his in-laws, when the latter terminate

avoidance and give their permission for the Hu to remove with his family to another settlement -- usually that of his MoBr but occasionally that of his Fa. Nearly half of all men, however, remain permanently in matrilocal residence. The sons of chiefs always reside patrilocally with their fathers. Neolocal residence results when a man establishes a new settlement. Children over 3 are commonly sent to live with their MoMo, eventually building new huts of their own. A wife usually returns to her own village when Hu dies, or even after she has passed the childbearing age. Residence is avunculocal for males of the royal family and for unions with MoBrDa. The avunculate is strong; a MoBr can sell his SiSo into slavery.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local agamy perhaps prevails, or possibly local exogamy; Richards gives conflicting accounts.

There are bilateral kindreds [lupwa] -- "a loosely organized group of kinsfolk composed of near relatives on both sides" -- which are said to be stronger than lineages. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred symmetrically, and occurred in 49% in one survey. Marriage is forbidden with a parallel cousin, FaWi, WiMo; allowed with FaSi [Delhaise].

There are 40 non-localized, exogamous, totemic matri-sibs. They are graded in rank according to their traditional order of arrival, and are paired on the basis of naturally antipathetic or complementary animal names. Members of paired sibs exhibit reciprocal functions at funerals, maintain a relationship of joking or license, preferentially intermarry, and are traditionally hostile in attitude. Sibs are divided into non-corporate matri-lineages; they own no property and have no chiefs, but are localized.

Kinship Terminology

Fa, FaBr--tata [my Fa], wiso [thy Fa], wishi [his Fa]. Mo, MoSi, FaBrWi-- mayo [my Mo], noko [thy Mo], nyina [his Mo]. Ch, BrCh(ms), SiCh(ws)--mwana. Wi--mukasi. ElBr--mukalamba. YoBr--mwaice. Br(ws)--ndume. Si)ms)--nkashi. Sibling [of same sex], MoCh--munyina.

MoBr--yama, nalume, nokolume. FaSi--mayo senge, nyina senge. GrFa--shikulu. GrMo--mama. GrCh--mweshikulu. WiFa, WiMo--bukwe. SiCh(ms)--mwipwa. Informal relations between grandparent and grandchild, respect or avoidance between siblings of opposite sex and by a man toward his BrWi, MoBrWi, and FaSi.

Cross-cousin--mufyala [joking relationship]. Sibling terms for parallel cousins.

Settlement Pattern

There are compact villages of 30-50 huts [Delhaise says 25-30] --cone-cylinder type with mud walls. Villages are shifted every 4-5 years. There are clubhouses at either end of a village. Chiefs' villages are larger, and are often divided into quarters.

Community Organization

"The village unit is, in theory, a matrilineal kinship group, and in the majority of cases this is till so"--Richards. A settlement beings with a man of influence who receives permission from his chief to remove his extended family to a new site. The headman's sons gradually leave, and he is joined by his sisters (divorced, widowed, or tired of married life) and their married daughters, sometimes also by some of his wife's relatives, occasionally by an own brother, and eventually by his sisters' sons. In the end, there is an approximation to an avunculocal clan-community. Circumcision not mentioned.

Local Government

Each village has a headman, succeeded by a Br, then a SiSo. He directs economic activities, prays at village shrine, organizes tribute payments, etc.

State

The Bemba have a central tribal state with a divine king, who combines religious with secular functions. He has a stool as a sacred relic, supervises the maintenance of a sacred fire in a special hut, and acts as supreme judge. Succession is matrilineal--by seniority. The king was formerly strangled on the point of death.

The king's mother has her own territory, and plays an important part in councils. The king himself heads a central district around the capital, where he is advised by a council of 30-40 hereditary titled officials, each with specialized court functions and a district near the capital. The whole country is divided into provinces headed by superior chiefs originally derived from the royal (Crocodile) sib; each has his own court, capital, and specialized executive officials, and extract tribute, services, and corvee labor from the villages under him. Some have appointive subchiefs under them--occasionally their sons. Succession of hereditary offices is matrilineal except for a few districts which the ruler originally gave to a son; these are regularly transmitted to sons on the theory that they are held as gifts. The king maintains a core of spies.

Warfare

The Bemba are warlike, but raiders rather than conquerors. They take the heads of slain enemies as trophies [live victims become slaves], but apparently do not practice cannibalism.

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105

Identification

The Bisa (Abisa, Aiza, Awisa, Babisa, Bawisa, Inviza, Moize, Moviza, Muiza, Muviza, Wabisa, Wabizha, Wisa) are a Bantu tribe of the Bemba linguistic and cultural group. Coxhead (1914) reports a population of 31,400.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with shifting cultivation and brand-tillage. The staple crop is manioc, followed by finger millet and bananas, groundnuts, rice, maize, eleusine, beans, peas, and root crops are also grown. Hunting is of moderate importance, but is subordinate to fishing. Cattle are lacking. There are a few goats, and sheep are kept.

Property

Little heritable property.

Matrilineal inheritance for what little property is available for transmission.

Social Stratification

Slavery, including probably debt slavery.

Marriage

Minor gifts, with several years of postmarital bride-service. At conclusion of the latter, when Hu removes with his family, there is a considerable transfer of goods -- amounting, indeed, to a wealth display.

General polygyny -- perhaps, as with the Bemba, sometimes sororal.

Social Stratification

According to a general statement for the Bemba group of tribes, the residential unit is normally a nuclear family, co-wives living in various parts of the village, and the matrilocal extended family is a cooperative rather than a residential group.

Residence

Residence is initially matrilocal for several years, and is

sometimes permanently so. More commonly, however, the husband is allowed by his wife's family to remove with his wife and children to another village, this being sometimes that of his father but much more often that of his maternal uncle. Avunculocal residence thus appears to be the normal ultimate solution.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

By inference from the Bemba, local exogamy is the norm.

Probably, as with the Bemba, there is cross-cousin marriage (which would often make residence equally avunculocal and matrilocal).

There are exogamous, totemic, non-localized matri-sibs, which are doubtless divided into non-corporate matri-lineages.

Kinship Terminology

Johnston: Fa--tata, wisi, Mo-ya? gu, na? gu, nyina, nyoko. Ch--mwana. Hu--mulune. Wi--mukasi. Br--mwina. Si--?kasi, inikas. GrFa--puku.

Settlement Pattern

Settled villages.

Community Organization

The village probably tends to be a clan, basically avunculocal but with a subordinate matrilocal character.

Local Government

There are village headmen. Succession is matrilineal--by Br, then SiSo, then DaSo. MoBr has great power; can sell his SiCh into slavery.

State

A tribal paramount chief or king, like that of the Bemba, is lacking, but there are inferentially lesser paramount chiefs over the village headmen.

105

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105

Identification

The Luapula (Bena Kazembe) are a Bantu people of extremely heterogeneous origin, though the majority belong definitely to the Bemba cluster. The first Bantu inhabitants were Bwile, followed by Shila. Then, around 1740, came the conquest and occupation by the Londa (Alonda, Alunda, Aronda, Balonda, Lunda, Varunda). Thereafter the country received accessions from many other tribes, notably Aushi, Bamba, Lungu, Nsenga, and Tabwa but also including Bisa, Lala, Lamba, Mambwe, and others. They number, according to Slaski (1951), about 50,000 in British territory. There are perhaps about as many more in Belgian territory.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with brand-tillage. Rotted grass is used as manure. The staple crop is manioc, followed by peanuts and earth peas. Sweet potatoes, maize, beans, sorghum, cow peas, eleusine ("finger millet"), rice, and bananas are also important, and a very little bulrush millet, yams, and sesame are also grown. No horses are kept, and very few cattle because of the tsetse fly, but there are chickens and some goats and sheep. Honey and water-lily roots are gathered, and there is considerable hunting. Fishing ranks next in importance to agriculture, and fish constitute the chief export today [formerly slaves and ivory.]

Sex Division of Labor

The men fish and hunt. Distributional evidence suggests that men clear the land but that women do most other agricultural work.

Property

Land is controlled by village headmen, who are called "owners of the land."

Inheritance is matrilineal, with positional succession. The heir, who is preferably an own or classificatory brother and then a classificatory grandson of the same lineage rather than a SiSo,

also assumes the status, wives, name, and identity of the deceased.

Social Stratification

The dominant Londa constitute an aristocratic class with five graded ranks headed by a royal lineage. Below them are the mass of commoners. Slaves were formerly kept, including persons enslaved for crime, and the slave trade was important.

Marriage

Marriage payments are low, and postmarital bride-service is the norm.

Polygyny occurs but is reported to be relatively infrequent. Each polygynous wife has her own hut. There is preferential levirate with ElBrWi, and sororate unions are allowed with WiYoSi, not with WiElSi.

Family

Independent nuclear (or polygynous) families are presumably the norm. There is mention of extended families but these seem not to be residential units.

Residence

Residence is initially matrilocal, with bride-service, for 2-3 years, and in some cases is permanently so. Usually, however, after a few years a man removes with his family, normally in avunculocal residence. Neolocal residence is very common, for a man is free to move at any time to another village with a more congenial headman. Slaski indicates that patrilocal residence is usual among the dominant Londa.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Members of the same village frequently marry today. Before the Londa conquest, however, local exogamy must have been the rule, since avunculocal clan-communities are said to have existed.

There is preferential cross-cousin marriage with either MoBrDa

or FaSiDa.

There are about 40 totemic matri-sibs (mukowa), divided into exogamous sub-sibs and matri-lineages (cikota). Sibs, which are only theoretically exogamous, are paired on the basis of assumed association of names, and a joking relationship prevails between paired sibs. Slaski reports that the dominant Londa are patrilineal. Even among the subject peoples, however, the matrilineal rule is no longer absolute for an individual can also claim membership is the sibs of his FaFa, FaMo, and MoFa.

Kinship Terminology

Br--wesu. This term is extended to males in alternate generations in the female line.

MoBr--yama. SiSo(ms)--mwipwa. SiDa(ws) called by the same term as Da. GrSo--mwishikulu. WiMo-WiElSi--mayfyda. A man avoids his WiMo.

Cross-cousin--mufyala. Sibling terms are extended to MoSiCh.

Settlement Pattern

The local community, though probably at one time concentrated and fortified, is now a neighborhood of homesteads dispersed among plantations. An average settlement has 20-40 houses (Cunnison), 150-200 people (Slaski). Dwellings are round with woven bamboo walls and grass-thatched roofs.

Community Organization

Prior to the Londa conquest, each settlement tended to be an avunculocal clan-community, and even today a small village is composed of the headman's matrilineal kinsmen. This remains the core as the village expands by the attachment of other than matrilineally related men to the headman. Within such a larger settlement groups of matrilineal kin are localized as wards (citente).

105

Local Government

Each village has a headman, called "owner of the village" (mwinemushi). Succession to office is matrilineal, following the rule of inheritance with positional succession. A new headman must, however, be approved by his superior chief.

State

Before their separation by the British and Belgians, the Luapula were politically integrated in a single conquest state, founded about 1740 by Londa invaders from the Lunda kingdom of Muata Yamvo, to which they are still nominally tributary. At the head of the state is an absolute monarch, the Kazembe, who maintains a court in a capital town. Succession to the kingship is inferentially patrilineal. The state is divided into seven districts, each with its own chief.

Warfare

Human sacrifice of war captives was formerly practiced.

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Identification

Two tribes are herewith grouped together: Lungu (Alungu, Marungu, Rungu, Walungu, Warungu). Mambwe (Amambwe).

They are said to be related to the Iwa and Mwanga to the east, and with them to be affiliated with the Fipa peoples (Whiteley).

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, though some cattle were kept, at least formerly. The staple is eleusine (Gouldsbury and Shearer).

Sex Division of Labor

Both sexes engage in agriculture; the men are said to hoe, the women to reap.

Property

Slaves, land, and crops the chief objects of property.

Property is inherited by brothers, sisters, and (presumably sororal) nephews; sons are not mentioned.

Social Stratification

There are slaves of two kinds: 1) captured in war or purchased; 2) debt slaves. The children of slaves are slaves; those of a slave father and free mother are free; those of a slave woman and her owner are free.

Marriage

A small or token bride-price and postmarital bride-service. General polygyny. There is a chief wife.

Residence

Initially matrilocal with bride-service until the birth of the first child. Permanent residence not reported; possibly avunculocal as among Bemba tribes.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

A vague report that marriage is forbidden with blood relatives. Descent is matrilineal--definitely for the Lungu and probably for the Mambwe.

Kinship Terminology (Johnston) Mambwe unless indicated for Lungu)

Fa--tata, isi, so. Mo--mayo, mama, nyina, noko. Ch--mwana [also L]. Hu--mukalamba, iya. Wi--umuki, -kazi(L?). Br--mwina [also L], ulupwa]L]. Si--kaka.

GrPa--kuku, isikulu, sokulu.

Local Government

There are village headmen. Succession is matrilineal, the successor being selected by the superior chief in consultation with the village leaders.

State

There are four territorial chiefs over districts. They allocate land to the local headmen, and are said formerly to have owned all livestock. Succession is matrilineal--Br, then ElSiElSo.

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Identification

The Shila (Awasira, Bachila, Bashila, Messira, Wasira) belong to the specific (not general) Bemba group of Bantu tribes.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with brand-tillage. The staple crops are eleusine and peanuts, but manioc, sweet potatoes, and rice are also grown. Hunting is mentioned incidentally. There are words in the vocabulary for goat, pig, and dog, but none for cattle, which are almost certainly absent. Primarily fishermen--Marchal.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt, fish, and clear land, and both sexes engage in agriculture. Brohez reports that men do at least as much agricultural work as women, but Marchal says that, while both sexes participate in harvesting, women do the bulk of the other field work.

Property

Beads and cowries are mentioned incidentally.

There is matrilineal inheritance with positional succession. The heir takes the name, status, property, wives, and identity of the deceased. This applies also to women, for the ElDa of and ElDa inherits the name and title of her grandmother.

Local Government

Slavery prevails. Captive women are rarely married, but the children of a slave wife have the status of sororal nieces and nephews. The children of slaves are slaves of their mother's master.

Marriage

Marriage involves two years of bride-service and a bride-price of an ax, a hoe, five arrows, and a bead necklace. Girls marry at 12-15, boys at 17-20.

Polygyny prevails, but a man can take a second wife only with

the consent of the first. The levirate is customary.

Residence

Marriage is matrilocal for the two years of postmarital bride-service in the wife's village but in a house distant from her mother. Thereafter the husband has the right of removal to avunculocal residence.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is permitted with a cross-cousin, a grandchild, MoBrWi, and WiBrDa, but is forbidden with a parallel cousin, WiMo, WiDa, WiSiDa, FaWi, and FaBrWi.

There are exogamous matri-sibs, divided into exogamous sub-sibs and into lineages of 4-7 generations in depth. Children are named alternately by the father and mother after an ancestor, and observe the tatoos of that ancestor.

Kinship Terminology

Fa, FaBr--papa, wiso [2d p.1, wishi [3d p.]. Mo, MoSi--mama, mayo, noko [2p1, nyina [3p]. Ch, BrCh(ms), SiCh(ws), FaYoBrCh, MoYoSiCh--mwana. Br(ms), Si(ws)--bululu, munyina, wesu. YoSi(ws)--nkasa. Br(ws)--ndume, likolo. Si(ms)--nkashi. Hu--mwata, mulume. Wi--mukashi.

MoBr, FaSiHu--mwishyo, yama. FaSi--mama-nkashi, mama-senge, nyina-nkashi, nyina-senge. SiSo(ms)--mwipwa. GrFa--kapa, nkambo. GrMo--kuku. GrCh--mwishikulu. DaHu--muko. SoWi--mulokashi. Father-in-law--tata-fyala. Mother-in-law--nyina-fyala. Brother-in-law, Sister-in-law--bukwe. A man respects his WiMo.

Sibling terms are extended to parallel cousins. Cross-cousin--mufyala.

Settlement Pattern

The Shila live in villages.

Community Organization

Avunculocal clan-communities are highly probable.

Local Government

Local headmen are inferential.

State

There are paramount chiefs, apparently of the order of divine kings because they are not allowed to die a natural death but are strangled with several of their wives, and other wives are immolated at the funeral. Though Whiteley stresses that succession is matrilineal throughout the Bemba cluster, Brohez reports succession from Fa to So. Perhaps the confusion reflects avunculocal residence.

Warfare

Civil wars over the succession are common.

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Identification

The Unga are culturally and linguistically close to the Bemba. They number about 10,000. Probably ultimately of Luba origin, they found the Twa established in the Bangweulu swamps when they arrived. The Twa are basically pygmies, but much mixed with Bantu blood and somewhat acculturated. Some of them, however, live in quite separate settlements. The relations between the two groups are said to be strained rather than symbiotic. The Unga are alternatively known as Bahonga, Bahunga, Baunga, Honja, and Waunga; the Twa, as Batwa.

Basic Economy

The Twa subsist primarily by fishing; they cultivate a very little manioc, securing most of their flour by trade with Negroes for fish; they also depend to a considerable extent on hunting and the collecting of water-lily and papyrus roots; they lack cattle, and possess dugout canoes. The Unga pursue all of the same exploitative activities, but in different proportions. Though their life centers mainly around fishing and trading dried fish to the Bemba and Bisa, they also hunt, collect aquatic roots, and depend very heavily on agriculture. Manioc is the staple crop, and also, with fish and probably water-lily and papyrus roots, the staple food. Other important crops are finger millet and bananas; a few beans and sweet potatoes are raised, but no groundnuts. No cattle, but probably a few goats and sheep.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt, gather aquatic roots, and fish with spears, nets, hook and line, basket traps, weirs, and poison. The women catch fish with drag baskets (an important daily activity) and do most of the agriculture, though the men also participate in the latter (perhaps only in land clearance).

Property

Heritable property is apparently slight. There are no individual property rights in fishing sites, though men own their weirs and baskets. A man may make a weir anywhere in the territory

of his own chief, and chiefs derive tribute from all who fish in their territory.

Such inheritance as exists is inferentially matrilineal. Maternal uncles enjoy great power (more than among the Bemba) over their sisters' children, including the right to sell them into slavery.

Social Stratification

Slavery is mentioned, but only incidentally.

Marriage

Apparently a token bride-price is paid. Melland says the value of a woman is one sheep. Bride-service is not required (Richards).

No data except that for the Bemba group as a whole there is general polygyny (sometimes sororal for the Bemba proper, at least), and that co-wives live apart instead of forming a polygynous family unit.

Family

Inferentially the independent nuclear family is the residential unit.

Residence

Residence is matrilocal, at least initially. The regional evidence and the power of the maternal uncle make it probable that the husband ultimately removes with his family to the village of his MoBr.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

A strong inference of local exogamy.

There are exogamous, totemic, matri-sibs.

Settlement Pattern

The Twa live in the swamp in the dry season and move to dry land during the rainy season. Their settlements consist of beehive-

shaped grass huts, though they often occupy temporary shelters consisting of old fishing nets laid over papyrus and covered with more papyrus. The Unga live in concentrated villages surrounded with a protective hedge of euphoria; they number from 5 to 100 huts, which are round, raised somewhat off the ground, with wattle-and-mud walls and conical thatched roofs.

Community Organization

The village may be fundamentally an avunculocal clan-community, as among neighboring tribes, but specific information is lacking.

Local Government

Each village--Unga and Twa alike--has a headman. Among the Unga, succession to this (and probably all other) positions is matrilineal.

State

There is no one paramount tribal chief, but Unga villages are aggregated into districts headed by chiefs. Formerly, at least, many of these chiefs were women, succeeded by a Da.

Warfare

Wars between different Unga chiefs, e.g., over the ownership of fish weirs, have been fairly common, and the Unga waged defensive war against Bemba aggression.

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